

REPORT OF ACTIVITIES
FIRST SESSION OF THE 94th CONGRESS (1975)

The Subcommittee on International
Security and Scientific Affairs

Hon. Clement J. Zablocki, Chairman
George R. Berdes, Staff Consultant

Washington, D.C.
December 1975

STATISTICAL TOTALS, FIRST SESSION, 94th CONGRESS (1975)

Total Meetings:

Hearing sessions	13
Briefing sessions	5
Other meetings	3
Total	<u>21</u>

Total Hours in Session:

Hearing sessions	31 hours, 38 minutes
Briefing sessions	9 hours, 55 minutes
Total	<u>41 hours, 33 minutes</u>

Status of Sessions:

Open	17 (80.9%)
Executive	4 (19.1%)

Number of Witnesses Heard:

Members of Congress	11
Private witnesses	12
Executive Branch officials	7
Other Government agency officials (regulatory agencies, etc.)	3
International organization witness	1
Total	<u>34</u>

Documents Issued:

Printed record of hearings	4
Reports	1
*Special studies	1
Other committee prints	3
Total	<u>9</u>

Pages of Printed Record of Hearings,
Reports, etc.:

Hearing proceedings	595
Appended materials	331
Special studies	180
Reports	24
Other committee prints	155
Total pages	<u>1285</u>

*Series:

"Science, Technology and American Diplomacy" done in cooperation
with Congressional Research Service, Library of Congress.

Measures (Bills and Resolutions) Considered and Ultimate Action:

- I. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency.....(held hearings in 1974 after a staff study was completed on the agency. Held hearings in April '75 followed by markup. Subcommittee combined and amended both H.R. 4265 and 1550 and ordered 1550 reported as amended to full committee. Full committee met for markup on June, after which Mr. Zablocki introduced the proposal on Floor as H.R. 7567. On June 5 was approved by committee and passed House on July 9. Then went to conference, passed the House & Senate in conference report form and signed by President on Nov. 29, 1975 (PL-94-141).
- II. War Powers(held hearings in May and June to evaluate Executive's compliance with PL 93-148 [War Powers Resolution] relative to the Danang Sealift, evacuation of Phnom Penh, evacuation of Saigon, and Mayaguez incident).
- III. Vladivostok Accord(in fulfillment of its jurisdictional mandate, subcommittee held hearings in June and July to explore significance of accord signed in Nov. 1974 between Pres. Ford and General Sec. Brezhnev. The base for the hearings was H.Res. 160, which was marked up by subcommittee on July 30 and ordered favorably reported as amended to full committee. Full committee expected to mark up in 1976).

Measures (Bills and Resolutions) Considered and Ultimate Action(continued)

IV. Nuclear Proliferation(held hearings on H.Con Res. 371, legislation with respect to certain arms control and disarmament negotiations. The resolution embodies certain declarations of Congress to President, particularly addressing the total nuclear problem. After hearings in October and November, subcommittee now prepared to mark up the legislation early after January 1, 1976).

Measures (Bills and Resolutions) Considered and Disposition:

1. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency

The subcommittee conducted 2 days of hearings on April 8 and 10 on H.R. 4265, the ACDA Authorization bill for FY 1976 and H.R. 1550, legislation to amend the Arms Control and Disarmament Act of 1961 and for other purposes. These hearings concluded an extended effort begun by the Subcommittee more than a year ago. The first stage of that major in-depth review was a comprehensive staff study of the agency, which was called for in the ACDA authorization for FY 1975 (No. 93-904). The study was subsequently used as a basis for conducting extensive hearings in September-October 1974, published under the title, "Arms Control and Disarmament Agency."

Following the April 8 and April 10 hearings, entitled "Arms Control and Disarmament Act Amendments," the subcommittee met in markup session on April 14 and 15, combined and amended both bills, and ordered H.R. 1550 reported as amended. On May 14 the Committee held hearings on H.R. 1550, and subsequently on June 3 met in open session to mark up the Committee Print version of H.R. 1550 as reported by the subcommittee. It was amended, and on the same day, Mr. Zablocki and 19 cosponsors introduced the proposal in the House as H.R. 7567. The Committee met again on June 5 and ordered the bill favorably reported by unanimous voice vote. The bill was passed by the House on July 9, went to conference, passed the House and Senate in conference report form, and was signed by the President on November 29, 1975 as PL 94-141. This legislation is intended to improve and enhance the operation of the agency. Among the mandates it includes toward that end are (1) providing for agency participation in assessing and analyzing the impact on arms control and disarmament policy and negotiations of any proposed nuclear or conventional weapons program or technology; (2) providing for an expanded agency annual report; and (3) making the Director a statutory principal adviser to the NSC.

WITNESSES

a. Members of Congress

Hon. Hubert H. Humphrey, a U.S. Senator from the State of Minnesota

Hon. Michael Harrington, a Representative in Congress from the State of Massachusetts

b. Private

Hon. Adrian S. Fisher, Dean of Georgetown University Law Center, on behalf of the Arms Control Association

Hon. Charles C. Price, Chairman, Council for a Livable World

c. Executive Branch

Hon. Fred C. Ikle, Director, U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency

ACDA (continued)

Days in Session

April 8 and 10 (hearings)

April 14 and 15 (markup)

Hours in Session

7 hours, 5 minutes

Documents

Arms Control and Disarmament Act Amendments, 88 pages

II. War Powers

The War Powers Resolution, enacted on November 7, 1973 by overriding a Presidential veto, was "put to test" this year for the first time since its enactment. The subcommittee held hearings in May and June to evaluate the Executive branch's adequacy of compliance as set forth in the resolution. The title of those hearings is "War Powers: A Test of Compliance (Relative to the Danang Sealift, the Evacuation of Phnom Penh, the Evacuation of Saigon, and the Mayaguez Incident)".

Between April 14 and May 15 the law was implemented on four different occasions, each instance being limited only to the section 4 reporting provisions of the resolution. Thus, the hearings attempted to explore all relevant circumstances surrounding incidents covered by those four reports, particularly relating to (1) the nature of the reporting and (2) the relative adequacy or inadequacy of consultation efforts provided for in section 3 of the resolution.

The tentative findings of the hearings were two-fold: (1) the response was prompt and seemingly complete in fulfilling the reporting requirement but (2) compliance with the consultation provision was considerably less adequate.

WITNESSES

a. Members of Congress

Hon. Jacob Javits, a U.S. Senator from the State of New York
Hon. John F. Seiberling, a Representative in Congress from the State of Ohio

b. Private

None

c. Executive Branch

Hon. Monroe Leigh, Legal Adviser, Department of State
Hon. Martin R. Hoffmann, General Counsel, Department of Defense

Days in Session

May 7 and June 4

Hours in Session

4 hours, 50 minutes

Documents

War Powers: A Test of Compliance (Relative to the Danang Sealift, the Evacuation of Phnom Penh, the Evacuation of Saigon, and the Mayaguez Incident), 136 pages

III. Vladivostok Accord

In fulfillment of its jurisdictional mandate, the subcommittee conducted hearings on June 24, 25, and July 8 to explore the significance and implications of the Vladivostok Accord, which was signed on November 24, 1974 by President Gerald R. Ford and General Secretary Leonid Brezhnev of the U.S.S.R. The legislative base for these hearings was H.Res. 160, legislation expressing support for the agreement on strategic arms and providing the advice of the House on follow-on strategic arms control measures. The main objective of the subcommittee was to present the views of Congress before rather than after the final agreement had been negotiated and then, on the basis of the understanding acquired through the hearings, present informed advice on the feasibility of early follow-on negotiations leading to mutual reductions in strategic forces.

The subcommittee marked up the legislation on July 30, and ordered H.Res. 160 favorably reported as amended to the full committee.

WITNESSES

a. Members of Congress

Hon. Jonathan B. Bingham, a Representative in Congress from the State of New York

Hon. Robert L. Leggett, a Representative in Congress from the State of California

Hon. Edward M. Kennedy, a U.S. Senator from the State of Massachusetts

Hon. Thomas J. Downey, a Representative in Congress from the State of New York

b. Private

Hon. Herbert Scoville, Jr., former Deputy Director of CIA and former Assistant Director of ACDA

Dr. Henry Rowen, Stanford University, former president of the Rand Corporation

Dr. John Deutch, professor, Massachusetts Institute of Technology

c. Executive Branch

Hon. Fred C. Ikle, Director, U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency

James P. Wade, Jr., Director of DOD SALT Task Force and Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense, International Security Affairs

Days in Session

June 24, 25, and July 8 (hearings)

July 30 (markup)

Vladivostok (continued)

Hours in Session

8 hours, 3 minutes

Documents

Vladivostok Accord: Implications to U.S. Security, Arms Control,
and World Peace, 198 pages

IV. Nuclear Proliferation

On July 30, Mr. Zablocki, Mr. Bingham, and Mr. Fountain introduced H.Con.Res. 371, legislation with respect to certain arms control and disarmament negotiations. In addition to certain declarations of Congress to the President, the resolution addressed the total nuclear problem as it affects the U.S. and other nations. The intent of the resolution was to stimulate and move the Congress and the Executive branch toward a meaningful and workable solution. Toward that end, the subcommittee held six days of intensive hearings on October 21, 23, 28, 30, and November 4 and 5, published under the title "Nuclear Proliferation: Future U.S. Foreign Policy Implications."

WITNESSES

a. Members of Congress

Hon. Jonathan Bingham, a Representative in Congress from the State of New York

Hon. Clarence D. Long, a Representative in Congress from the State of Maryland

Hon. Alan Cranston, a U.S. Senator from the State of California

b. Private

Hon. Adrian S. Fisher, former Deputy Director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency and professor of International Law, Georgetown University Law School

Mr. George W. Rathjens, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, on behalf of the Coalition on National Priorities and Military Policy

Mr. Carl Marcy, Legislative Consultant to the Council for a Livable World

Mr. Arthur Laffer, professor, Business Economics, Graduate School of Business, University of Chicago and Consultant to the Secretary of the Treasury

Mr. Albert L. Bethel, Vice President and General Manager, Water Reactor Divisions, Westinghouse Electric Corporation

Mr. Carl Walske, President, Atomic Industrial Forum

Dr. Theodore Taylor, Chairman of the Board, International Research and Technology Corporation

c. Executive Branch

Hon. Fred C. Ikle, Director, U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency

Mr. Myron Kratzer, Acting Assistant Secretary, Bureau of Oceans and International Environmental and Scientific Affairs, Department of State

Nuclear Proliferation (continued)

d. Other Government Agency Officials

Mr. Stephan Minikes, Sr. Vice President, Research and Communications, Export-Import Bank

Mr. Nelson Sievering, Jr., Assistant Administrator for International Affairs, U.S. Energy Research and Development Administration

Mr. Richard Kennedy, Commissioner, Nuclear Regulatory Commission

e. International Organization Witness

Hon. Gerald F. Tape, U.S. Representative to the International Atomic Energy Agency

Days in Session

October 21, 23, 28, 30, and November 4 and 5

Hours in Session

11 hours, 40 minutes

Documents

Nuclear Proliferation: Future U.S. Foreign Policy Implications, 506 pages.

BRIEFINGS

V. CIA Briefings

The subcommittee recieved periodic executive session briefings from the CIA on Soviet Strategic Strength

VI. SALT and Disarmament Briefings

The subcommittee has been receiving periodic briefings from ACDA and other sources for many years on programs of SALT II and other disarmament issues. On March 5 Hon. Fred C. Ikle, Director of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, conducted a briefing on SALT II and nuclear proliferation, giving an overview of the different on-going arms control negotiations in which the U.S. is a participant. On June 12 the subcommittee received a briefing from Ambassador U. Alexis Johnson, Chief U.S. negotiator at SALT II. Dr. Ikle again briefed the subcommittee on September 24 regarding arms control implications in the Mideast.

VII. Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) and Mutual Balanced Force Reductions in Europe (MBFR)

On May 8 the subcommittee received a joint briefing by Mr. Stanley Resor, the Chief negotiator to MBFR and the Hon. Arthur Hartman, Assistant Secretary of State, European Security Affairs.

Series: "Science, Technology and American Diplomacy"

One additional document in the subcommittee-sponsored series, "Science, Technology and American Diplomacy," was published in June. This document, entitled "Science and Technology in the Department of State," is the concluding study in the series, which was begun in 1970. The series will be concluded in 1976 with an analytical review prepared collaboratively by the series' director and associate director, Dr. Franklin Huddle and Mr. Warren Johnston, in an endeavor to summarize the themes developed in the intervening twelve substantive studies and suggest various possible legislative ideas. (180 pages)

Additional Committee Prints

The subcommittee and its staff, in cooperation with the Congressional Research Service of the Library of Congress published two documents in the form of committee prints this year. One document, entitled "Authority to Order the Use of Nuclear Weapons (United States, United Kingdom, France, Soviet Union, People's Republic of China)," is intended to be of assistance to the committee and its members in considering various pending legislative proposals relating to the first use of nuclear weapons, of which hearings are scheduled for the early part of 1976. The second document, entitled, "Background Information on the Use of U.S. Armed Forces in Foreign Countries," is a revision of the 1970 edition, which is intended to assist members of Congress in understanding the complex questions posed by the concurrent jurisdiction over warmaking given to Congress and the President by the Constitution. A third document was also published by the Subcommittee because of the wide interest that has been displayed in the War Powers Resolution. The title of this document is "War Powers Resolution: Relevant Documents, Correspondence, Reports."